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SOURCE Nan-fang Jih-pao.CCP EDITOR DISCUSSES NEW PARTY REFORM MOVEMENT

The main points of an editorial entitled "Reorientation of Party Operational Procedures and Improvement of Party Organization," which appeared in the 1 July 1950 issue of the Peiping Jen-min Jih-pao, follow. The editorial was written in commemoration of 29th anniversary of the founding of CCP.

Reorienting Party Operational Procedures

One of the important operational procedures of the CCP is the practice of self-criticism, which is exercised as a means of educating the Party, ensuring continuous correction of mistakes by Party members, and guaranteeing the progress of Party activities. The recent movement to readjust operational procedures again introduced by the CCP Central Committee is thus the equivalent of a large-scale self-criticism program, resulting from the appearance of deficiencies and errors during the past year, particularly the error of authoritarianism. This new movement is designed to afford systematic correction of these defects and errors.

Liu Shao-ch'i, in a speech in commemoration of 1 May, said: "Within a short time after the PLA began its southward advance after 20 April 1949, the entire mainland of China, with the exception of Tibet, was liberated. Because of the great size of the territory occupied, Party activities were complicated, and experienced cadres were lacking. Large numbers of new cadres were recruited, but there was not sufficient time to devote to their training. As a result, many defects and errors appeared in operations. We must look at the problem from an over-all point of view. We must consider both successes and failures and the earnest endeavors and mistakes on the part of the cadres. All the people are praising our successes, but at the same time they are demanding that we correct the defects and mistakes which have already developed. We must recognize these mistakes and defects, and correct them. The Central Committee of the CCP has already handed down a decision to extend the policies of criticism and self-criticism and also to reindoctrinate the operational cadres. After these steps are completed, we believe that our defects and mistakes will have been corrected."

The Party-wide reorientation movement will have a great effect in raising the awareness of the entire Party and in advancing Party activities. In regard to this, Our party has already experienced two such movements. The first

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occurred in 1942-43 during the War of Resistance. At that time, the main points of consideration in the reorientation were the high-level and middle-level agencies of leadership and their operational personnel. It was necessary then to correct a tendency towards dogmatism within the Party and a tendency towards liberalism on the part of the intelligentsia who had just begun to participate in the revolution. These tendencies were corrected by study of appropriate documents and by thought examination.

In summing up the achievements of this movement, Mao Tse-tung in December 1947 said, "The reorientation movement of our Party during the period of the War of Resistance has been completely successful. The result of this success constitutes a basic change in which our leadership agencies and many cadres have succeeded in aligning the concrete objectives of the Chinese revolution with the Universal truths of Marxism-Leninism. This development marked a great step forward in comparison with previous steps in the development of the CCP prior to the War of Resistance.

"Many problems connected with local organization of the Party, however, still remain to be solved. This is especially true in the case of undesirable elements and deviations from the Party line in the basic units of organization in rural areas."

The second such movement occurred in 1947-48 during the disturbed period of the struggle for liberation and implementation of land reform. At that time, the emphasis of the reorientation was directed towards the basic units of organization in the rural areas. Many landlords and rich farmers had infiltrated the Party, many Party members had retained connections with landlords and rich farmers and many rural cadres had become separated from the masses. The method of correcting this situation was to invite the non-Party masses to attend Party conferences and to join in examining the Party members, cadres, and operational procedures through the Party branches. These corrective measures served to improve relations between the Party and the masses in the rural areas and aided in expanding the land reform and temporary military administrative activities.

The present reorientation movement differs from the previous two in the circumstances under which it arises and its objectives. As a result, the methods of effecting the reorientation must be different. This reorientation is made necessary by the rapid liberation of the entire country. Its main objectives are to correct the tendency towards authoritarianism, strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses in the cities and villages, and consolidate the democratic united front. In this way, we may facilitate the implementation of land reform in the rural portions of newly liberated areas and the regulation of commerce and industry in urban areas. The method to be employed in reorienting Party activities will be to convoke cadre reorientation conferences on the various levels or to establish reorientation training classes. In either case, the practice will be to study the report delivered by Mao Tse-tung at the third plenary session of the Seventh Congress of the CCP and other designated documents, to reach general conclusions on operations in the area associated with the participants in the conference or class, and to extend the practice of criticism and self-criticism. The cadres are emphasized in this program so that they may bear an increasing responsibility in the conduct of Party operations.

The primary elements in the program of the reorientation conferences and classes will be criticism and self-criticism. Cases of criminal error or opportunism revealed by the reorientation procedures, which are to be subject to punishment or correction, will be turned over the appropriate agency for disposition. This step will be taken to achieve cooperation between operating units and to avoid repetition of mistakes uncovered in previous examinations, and is not intended to reduce emphasis on necessary punishments or correction.

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Improving Party Organization

Improving Party organization and reorienting the Party's operational procedures are two aspects of one general objective, the improvement of the Party's political nature, which in turn is intended to strengthen the Party's ties with the masses,

The CCP is the party of the Chinese working classes, but from the viewpoint of the social origins of the Party members, those with a farm background hold a preponderant position. This situation was determined by the conditions of China's society and particularly by the special historical conditions in the development of the Chinese revolution, but of course could not, and in practice did not, injure the CCP's class nature. Liu Shao-ch'i in his book Discussions on the Party expressed it well when he said, "No conclusions can be reached /as to his attitudes and actions/ by considering only the social origins of the Party member. The decisive factors are the political struggles and political life of the Party, its thought indoctrination, thought guidance, and political guidance. Our Party's general and organizational principles guarantee that the ideas and objectives of the proletariat will maintain a ruling position within the Party."

In addition, from the viewpoint of component parts by class of the Party, we must recognize two facts: (1) if the various proletarian classes, including workers, hired farm hands, poor farmers, and the urban indigent, are computed together with those who enjoy a semiproletarian status, their strength in local Party membership, based on 1949 data, would be 62 percent of the total of 3,260,000 members; (2) approximately one million of our Party members have suffered a rationing-system existence throughout a long period of strife and revolution and have undergone a severe life of warfare under Communism. From the viewpoint of degree of awareness and mode of life, these members constitute the finest element among the working classes.

These factors do not mean, however, that our party can be satisfied with the present organizational situation, which has developed under the restrictions imposed by historical conditions. Since the second plenary session of the Seventh National Congress of the CCP, held in March 1949, the Party has already given strong emphasis to absorbing members of the working class. For example, of the 3,350 new members added in Peiping in 1949, workers constituted more than 50 percent. In the last 4 months of 1949, 6,648 new members were added in Tientsin, of which 73 percent were workers. The Central Committee of the CCP expects to absorb one third of the industrial workers into the Party by degrees within 3-5 years as they reach full revolutionary consciousness. In addition, it has been decided that further admittance of new members in rural portions of old liberated areas will be terminated. In rural portions of newly liberated areas, the Party organization will not be extended until after the completion of land reform.

The CCP is now the world's second largest political party of the working classes. In its development, it has undergone changes in conformance with varying historical circumstances. In the period of the first domestic revolutionary war (the Northern Expedition) in 1924-27, the Party had a membership of 59,000 persons, but the failure of the revolution at this time brought about its reduction to approximately 10,000. In the period of the second domestic revolutionary war (local revolutions) in 1934, the Party increased in membership to 300,000, but reversals were again suffered and the number dropped once more. At the outbreak of the war against Japan in 1937, Party membership totaled only 40,000. During the war, membership mounted continuously and by V-J Day the figure had reached 1,210,000. Of the present 5 million, 1,200,000 are in the armed forces and 3,400,000 in the three districts of North China, East China, and the Northeast. The reason for the preponderance of membership in the three districts is that they are in the category of old liberated areas. Even so, new members represent a large percentage of total membership in those districts.

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A total of 1,400,000 new members were added to the Party throughout the country in 1949. Because of this large number, it was unavoidable that many should not be properly qualified as members and even a few opportunists were included, but this situation will be remedied. To increase the political awareness of members, in the future qualifications for membership will be raised.

The CCP must not only adjust the class composition of Party members, but also must emphasize educating new members. Suitable measures must be taken to correct or expel opportunists and similar elements already in the Party who are unwilling to amend their mistakes after experiencing the educational process.

Only by improving Party organization, and reorienting Party operational procedures can the effective solidarity of the masses be achieved and the decisions of the third plenary session of the Seventh National Congress on the CCP and the second session of the national committee of the China People's Political Consultative Conference be put into effect. These Party goals must also be achieved to secure basic improvements in the national economic and financial situation, to effect land reform in newly liberated areas, and to gain victory over the intervention of US imperialism and thereby liberate Taiwan and all other Chinese territory.

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